[For information pertaining to the history of Hunza and Nagar, 1842-1870, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 435-450 passim.]

113, 175, 721 Burusho AV7

/For history of military campaigns in Hunza and Nagar from 1889-1893 see 4: Durand, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 226-292./

1: Lorimer 7-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 15

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

WHEN after three days we had got the house habitable, cupboards and bookshelves ordered, lamps burning, water and food routine running smoothly, and the first friendly contacts with our neighbours established, we asked leave to pay our first call on the Mir, the king of the country and our host.

Two horses were found for us—it was a welcome let-off that the nature of the country made it useless to keep our own horses—and we started early, while it was still cool, on the four-mile ride to Báltít, his capital. The Great North Road from Kashmir to Central Asia is here some four to five feet wide; the only rideable road in the country. For the first couple of miles it runs fairly level between high field walls, just dipping 50 feet now and again to cross a stony gully, down which pour at times irresistible floods of mud and boulders; then it staggers almost perpendicularly up some hundreds of feet till it reaches the level of the Dála and runs along with the water channel (which is perhaps 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep) on its left and a steep drop on the right into the first fields below. High above us towered staircases of narrow fields and behind them great serrated snow peaks, the most interesting of which culminates in a 2,000-foot needle of sheer granite too steep ever to hold the snow.

This is Princess Búbuli's Peak, and the story goes that when the hero Kiser (the Gesar of Tibetan myth[1] and an

[1] For original Tibetan versions of his story, see Madame Alexandra David-Neel, *Gesar of Ling*; for the Burushaski version, see D. L. R. L., in *Folklore*, XLII, June 2, 1931.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazím Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimshál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

fewer youths to be educated. On the other hand they have for many years been in very close contact with one foreign language, Khowar, which has been brought to their doors, and for many into their daily lives This is reflected to some extent in the Werchikwar vocabulary as far as it is known, but I do not know enough to say anything definite about morphological and structural analogies between the two languages.

Earlier Work on Burushaski and Werchikwar by Europeans.

The only original work of importance done in the past on Burushaski is that published by Col. J. Biddulph in 1880 (revised 1884) and by Dr. G. W. Leitner in 1889. In the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII their results are revised and summarised and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son is added. Biddulph's work is sound as far as it goes, but it is only a brief sketch. There are 22 8vo. pages of Grammar, 4 pages of sentences and texts and 20 pages of Burushaski-English Vocabulary. He deals with the Nagir dialect which he calls "Boorishki" (v. footnote p. XVIII). Leitner in his "Hunza and Nagir Handbook", 1889, also principally describes the Nagir dialect. He collected a considerable vocabulary, extensive paradigms and a large mass of miscellaneous information, all of which he presents unfortunately in an ill-digested and unsystematic manner. His translations are often so loose as to suggest that he did not fully understand his texts, and naturally errors are not lacking.[1]

In both Biddulph's and Leitner's Vocabularies a considerable number of Shina words are to be found. This is probably characteristic af Nagir Burushaski, which has always been more exposed to infection by Shina than the Hunza speech.[2]

[1] It would be unwise to express a final judgment on Leitner's work without checking it through in detail with the assistance of Burushaski speakers, which I have not done.

[2] Cp. also the Bibliography in LSI, Vol. VIII, 1, p. 551. — Manuscript vocabularies compiled by B. L. Grombchevskiy and M. S. Andreev are in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy.

5:Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

For the rest I can only hope that they may be attributed to physical limitations rather than to economy of endeavour on my part. I have made a vast number of corrections in the proofs, but unfortunately this is a case where anything short of complete achievement acquires no merit. 128

I have made no effort to turn this into a comparative philological dictionary, a task beyond my competence, but I have aimed at indicating obvious loan-words, for the benefit of those who may approach Burushaski with a mininum knowledge of other oriental languages 121 192

The bulk of these loan-words will be found to be Arabic-Persian, i.e. Arabic words current in Persian, most of which have probably been acquired, more or less indirectly, from the latter language. 192

The original source of dissemination of Persian in all this part of the world has undoubtedly been the language of the Tajik population of the plains of what is now known as Tajikistan in USSR territory. This Tajik Persian is now beginning to receive attention (Cp. W. Lentz, "Pamir Dialekte, I" Göttingen, 1933, Introd. pp. 31 ff. and H. Sköld, "Materalien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen", Lund 1936, Introd. pp. 8 ff.). Work has been done on it in recent years by Soviet scholars, but copies of their publications are not easy to obtain. [113]

What proportion of the Persian words recorded by me in Burushaski are familiar to all Burushaski speakers, I cannot definitely say. Illiterate and untravelled men and most of the women would not, I think use, or know, many Persian words for which there are adequate Burushaski equivalents. Against this, every child in Hunza seemed to know the word *tasvi'r* for "photograph". It was a very old man who, when he had lost or damaged his portrait, asked if he could have another copy of the *girm'inum*, the "script".

Other non-adjacent languages which have been laid under contribution are Hindustani and Punjabi.

With Tibetan I have no direct acquaintance but I have noted a few words in Burushaski which can be found in the standard Tibetan dictionaries.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

Burushaski—English Vocabulary

192 Burushaski and the dialect of Tibetan spoken in Baltistan possess some words in common, and comparison has now been facilitated by the Vocabulary printed in A. F. C. Read's "Balti Grammar" [113] (RAS 1934), which became available to me only after the greater part of this volume was in print. A separate note on the subject is now appended, v. pp. 532—536.

192 Turkish and Eastern Turki stand in much the same position as 197 Tibetan. They have contributed words to Burushaski, but I have no personal experience of these languages, and have only indicated words that I happened to know or such as were readily traceable. The source of these borrowings has undoubtedly been the Eastern Turki spoken in Chinese Turkistan.[1]

On the other hand, coming to Burushaski's immedate neighbours, I have quoted all the parallels known to me in Shina, Khowar and Wakhi. Except where otherwise stated, these are furnished from my own collections.[2] This is a first step towards a comparison of the complete vocabularies of these languages — at present impossible owing to deficiency of material — which would yield some interesting results. We should learn for instance the extent to which the various vocabularies overlap, the nature and amount of borrowing by one language from another, and the area of survival or dispersion of Burushaski words, Burushaski being by hypothesis the original language of a much wider tract than it occupies at the present day.

I have made some attempt to illustrate the possibility of tracing the transference of grammatical devices and idiom within this group of languages in a paper which is due to appear in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" of 1937.

[113]

[1] An examination of G. Raquette's "English-Turki Dictionary", Lund, 1927, reveals a very large number of Ar. Pers. words. Of the genuine Turki words there recorded very few are to be found in Burushaski.

[2] In the Kho. words the cerebrals and aspirates are probably fairly correctly marked. In Shina words many have probably gone unnoted. I have therefore quoted any forms given by Grahame Bailey which differed from mine. In Wakhi I could get no assistance in phonetics from my informants. I recorded cerebral ṭ, ḍ, ṛ and occasionally ṭ, but no aspirates, which proves little.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

LIST OF CONTRACTIONS.

000 The sign § refers to paragraphs in the Grammar, Vol. I.

Plain numbers divided by a full stop (e.g. 106.20) refer to page and line of the Texts, Vol. II.

Ordinary contractions of common grammatical terms, which will be readily understood, have not been included here.

*-ʌ., *-ʌt. *-ʌtʌs.

*-ʌm. *-ʌmʌnʌs.

Ar. Arabic.

Ar. Prs. Arabic current in Persian.

(Ar.) Prs. Arabic base + Persian suffix.

b. Shina *bo·rki*, to be, become.

Balti. Tibetan as spoken in Baltistan.

[113] Bhai Maya Singh. Author of "The Panjábi Dictionary", Lahore, 1895.

Biddulph, Col. J. Author of "Tribes of the Hindoo Kush", Calcutta, 1880.
The section on "The Boorishki Language" was reprinted, "corrected" in JRAS, Vol. XVI, Pt. 1, 1884.

Bu. Burushaski.

Bu. syn. Burushaski synonym, only in the sense that the second word was used to explain the preceding one.

Cs. Cansat·ve.

d.pl. Double plural. Cp. § 41.

Dum. Dum·ăki, the language of the Bĕricho of Hunza.

f., ft. ftʌs.

Eng. English.

EOL. E. O. (Mrs. D. L. R.) Lorimer.

E. Turk. Eastern Turki.

f. b. From bottom (of page).

f.n. Footnote.

[113] GB. T. Grahame Bailey ("Grammar of the Shina Language", RAS, 1924).

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

List of contractions

Gh. Kh. Gushpūr Muḥammad Ghani Khān, v. Introd. p. lix.

GR. Rai Sāḥib Ganpat Rai, Medical Assistant in Gilgit in 1923—24.

H. Hindustani, or Urdu.

h. Human Category. V. § 19.

hf. Human feminine.

hm. Human masculine.

Hz. Hunza, (Burushaski) as spoken in Hunza.

IUB. 'Ināyatullah Bèg. V. Introd. p. lviii.

IYB. Jemadār Imām Yār Bèg. V. Introd. p. lvii.

Kho. Khowār, the language of Chitrāl.

Leitner, G. W. Author of "The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook", Calcutta, 1889; and "Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893", Woking.

LSI. "The Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. VIII. Pt. II, Calcutta, 1919, containing accounts of the Dardic Languages and Burushaski.

m. *MANUS.*

*-m. *-MANAS.*

Ma. Gushpūr Muḥammad 'Ali Khān, eldest son of Shāh Sikandar Khān, Mīr of Nagar. He died about 1923.

Mck. Major L. Mackenzie, I.M.S., Agency Surgeon, Gilgit, in 1923—24.

MMP. Khān Bahādur Munshi Muḥammad Masih Pāl, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent Gilgit.

Morg. Professor Georg Morgenstierne.

Morg. Report. "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan", by Georg Morgenstierne, Oslo, 1926.

N. Nagar, Nagir; (Burushaski) as spoken in Nagar.

n. Noun.

neg. Negative.

Nz. Nazar, a man of Aliabad, Hunza, for many years in the service of various Political Agents in Gilgit. V. Introd. p. lvii.

o.s. Oneself.

Pc. Participle.

Pn. Inf. Pronominal infix.

Pn. Pf. Pronominal prefix.

postpos. Postposition.

ppa. Past participle active

Prs. Persian.

Prs. H. Persian current in *Hindustani*, or Urdu.

Punj. Punjabi (i.e. Panjābi).

QUB. Qudratullah Beg, son of Subadar Muḥabbatullah Bèg, of the family of Wazir Humāyūn Bèg, resident of Baltit. Principal informant 1934—35.

Sh. The Shin'a language.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5)1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

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[113]

Shaw, R. B. "On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli)", JASB Vol. XLV. Pt. I, No. II, 1876.

Shghn. The Shughni language.

s.o. Someone.

s.t. Something.

St. Pc. Static Participle.

ŠY. Mēhtarjan Shāhzāda Yūsuf, formerly of Yasin. V. Introd. p. lviii.

T. Turkish.

th. Shina *thowki*, to make, do.

Tib. Tibetan.

Werch. Werchikwār, i.e. Burushaski as spoken in Yasin.

Wkh. The Wakhi language.

x. X category v. § 19.

y. Y category v. § 19.

z. Z category v. § 187.

[113]

Zarubin, I. I. "Vershikskoe Narechie Kandzhutskogo Yazika". V. § 500.

Kəʀamo Dərbeʃ in Diramitiŋ territory, v. Text No. XIV.. 776 782

See my article in JRAS of July 1929, pp. 507—36. [113]

Sahəla Boin kɨ Haʃlasa Boin names of two Boin's in whose names oaths were taken. 250.9. *itsir boyo se.ibam* they called them "*boyo*". 214.5. *sivɨ itsɨ u.ilikɨ bam* people used to worship, or placate, them. 214.4. *boyo u.ilikinas*, (pl. *u.ilikinaso*), a boyo-worshipper, a heathen, (cp, *boi.indurgas*).

bokal y pl. seed-grain (of cereals). — *guki bokali gur bitsaŋ* this is wheat seed-grain. 000

bomo y pl. seed (of corn). (The *-mo* is only an expletive, conveying at most a sense of multiplicity and indefiniteness). — *da bomo da ulji yərər gur hɨri n'owsin* putting aside wheat and barley for seed and funeral rites. 382.11.

bonis a round lump of dough (2 or 3 inches or more in diameter for making cake of bread from). — *han bonisani tha hoʃər daudo 'ɛ̃.im* I (can) make "daudo" for 100 troops with one lump of dough. 176.23.

bono, -muts x. plait of hair rolled up and knotted into a ball at the end. 302

The Hunza women wear their hair in two such plaits one at each side of the head. Formerly the men also wore their hair long and dressed it in *bono's* or twisted in spirals.

A N. y pl. form "*bonin*" was recorded. (Cp. Sh. *bono*).

bopfau "seed-scattering". — *bopfau ɨtas* to perform the ceremony of initiating the seed-sowing in the Spring. V. Text No. XIII. 241

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105
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